

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 PARIS 09759

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS) PFOR FR US UR
SUBJECT: DRAFT MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION: FRENCH
FOREIGN MINISTER AND SECRETARY, BREAKFAST,
APRIL 2

1. THERE FOLLOWS A DRAFT UNCLEARED MEMORANDUM OF A CONVERSATION WHICH TOOK PLACE BETWEEN FOREIGN MINISTER DE GUIRINGAUD, POLITICAL DIRECTOR FRANCOIS DE LABOULAYE, POLITICAL DEPUTY DIRECTOR YVES PAGNIEZ, AMERICAN AFFAIRS DIRECTOR JACQUES DE FOLIN, CHIEF OF SCIENCE SECTION XAVIER DE NAZELLE, DIPLOMATIC ADVISOR TO THE PRIME MINISTER JEAN-CLAUDE PAYE, AND GERARD ERRERA FROM THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S CABINET, AND THE SECRETARY, CHARGE GAMMON, ACDA DIRECTOR WARNKE, UNDER SECRETARY HABIB, ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN, PM DIRECTOR GELB AND NSC STAFF MEMBER HYLAND, AT THE QUAI D'ORSAY BETWEEN 9:00 AND 10:45 A.M. ON APRIL 2, 1977. SUBJECTS DISCUSSED WERE THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT TO ISRAEL, AND THE SECRETARY'S ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT TO MOSCOW.

2. GUIRINGAUD'S TRIP TO ISRAEL: THE SECRETARY AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAD A TETE A TETE LASTING HALF AN HOUR, PRIOR TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WORKING BREAKFAST. AFTER INITIAL PLEASANTRIES AT THE TABLE, GUIRINGAUD
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OPENED WITH AN ACCOUNT OF HIS JUST CONCLUDED THREE-DAY VISIT TO ISRAEL. HE REPORTED ISRAELI FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON'S ACCOUNT OF HIS GOVERNMENT'S SETTling THE PECKING ORDER OF ITS CANDIDATES (RABIN, PERES, ALLON, EBAN) FOR THE COMING ELECTIONS, THAT THEY HOPED THAT YADIN WOULD JOIN THE LIST, THAT MRS. MEIR HAD APPROVED IT, AND THAT THEY EXPECTED DAYAN TO SPLIT OFF WITH HIS

OWN FOLLOWING AND PERHAPS JOIN LIKUD. GUIRINGAUD SAID HE WAS IMPRESSED WITH THE TOTAL UNANIMITY OF THE ISRAELI LEADERS HE SAW ON ARAB-ISRAELI SETTLEMENT TERMS. HE CRITICIZED THE SPECIAL ISRAELI LOGIC THAT TENDS TO FORGET THAT IN GIVING UP OCCUPIED LAND THEY ARE NOT GIVING AWAY THEIR OWN PROPERTY. THE SECRETARY AGREED THAT IN HIS EARLIER VISIT HE HAD HAD SIMILAR IMPRESSIONS. HABIB COMMENTED ON THE LACK OF ISRAELI FLEXIBILITY WHICH WAS ATTRIBUTABLE TO THEIR IMMINENT ELECTIONS. THE SECRETARY HOPED THAT EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT SADAT MIGHT HAVE SOME NEW IDEAS. GUIRINGAUD SAID ALLON HAD TOLD HIM THAT FOREIGN POLICY MATTERS WOULD INEVITABLY BE FEATURED IN THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN BEFORE LONG.

3. MOSCOW: SALT: THE SECRETARY BRIEFLY DESCRIBED THE SOVIET TURN DOWN OF BOTH US PACKAGES AND THEIR CLAIM THAT THE CRUISE MISSILE WAS INCLUDED IN THE VLADIVOSTOK AGREEMENT, CONTRARY TO OUR RECORDS AND TO SECRETARY KISSINGER'S STATEMENTS. HE STRESSED THE FAIRNESS OF THE US PACKAGES, AND OUR INTENTION TO CONTINUE DISCUSSIONS AT HIS MEETING WITH GROMYKO AT GENEVA IN MID-MAY. HE SPECULATED THAT THE SOVIET ACTION MIGHT BE TACTICAL OR IT MIGHT REFLECT AN INTERNAL POLITBURO SPLIT, DURING A MEETING WHILE THE US PARTY WAS IN MOSCOW. REPLYING TO GUIRINGAUD'S QUESTION, HE STATED THAT THE USG HUMAN RIGHTS EMPHASIS HAD HAD NO EFFECT ON THE SOVIET DECISION, ADDING THAT THE SOVIET LEADERS HAD SEEMED TO GET THEIR IRRITATION ABOUT OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POSITION OFF THEIR CHESTS IN THE BEGINNING AND HAD NOT

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RAISED IT AGAIN. THE SECRETARY HOPED THAT THE SOVIET LEADERS WOULD REFLECT ON OUR PACKAGES AND MAKE SPECIFIC COMMENTS AT HIS MEETING WITH GROMYKO IN MAY. IF SO, HE ADDED, WE WOULD LISTEN TO THEIR POINTS. HE DID NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF CONTACTS BACK AND FORTH BEFORE THE GENEVA MEETING.

FOREIGN MINISTER GUIRINGAUD ASKED FOR FURTHER EUROPEAN-AMERICAN DISCUSSIONS ON DISARMAMENT MATTERS AT WHAT HE TERMED A HIGH, TECHNICAL LEVEL OF EXPERTISE, TO COVER MBFR (EVEN THOUGH FRANCE INTENDS TO REMAIN OUT OF THAT NEGOTIATION) AND ALSO GENERAL US-USSR DISARMAMENT DISCUSSIONS, WHICH COULD IMPACT ON FRENCH STRATEGIC THINKING. THE SECRETARY EXPRESSED ENTIRE WILLINGNESS TO CARRY ON SUCH TALKS. HE ADDED THAT MBFR HAD BEEN DIS-

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CUSSED IN MOSCOW, AND THAT HE HAD THERE DESCRIBED THE TWO KEYS TO PROGRESS AS ACCEPTANCE OF PARITY AND COLLECTIVITY. HE HAD ALSO RAISED THE ISSUE OF ADEQUATE DATA.

4. COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN: THE SECRETARY TURNED TO THE DISCUSSION IN MOSCOW OF A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN, NOTING THAT WE HAD PROPOSED A BAN OF ALL TESTS INCLUDING PNES, AND HAD EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF VERIFICATION. THE SOVIETS HAD SAID THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO SIGN A BILATERAL CTB WITH US IF WE COULD AGREE ON TERMS, BUT STRONGLY REBUTTED THE INCLUSION OF PNES. GUIRINGAUD ASKED IF THEY HAD MENTIONED SPECIFIC PNE PROJECTS. THE SECRETARY REPORTED ONLY GENERAL SOVIET ALLUSION TO A MINING PROJECT AND ONE TO REVERSE THE FLOW OF A RIVER. THE WORKING GROUP TO BE SET UP BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE US MIGHT BE ABLE TO GET A FEEL FOR THEIR PLANS. HE NOTED THAT WE HAD STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF VERIFICATION IN CONNECTION WITH PNES AND THAT SMIRNOFF HAD SEEMED TO BE ABOUT TO MAKE A CONCESSION WHEN GROMYKO CUT HIM OFF.

GUIRINGAUD STATED THAT FRANCE WOULD NOT RPT NOT AGREE TO ANY TOTAL TEST BAN. FRANCE NEEDS TESTING FOR MILITARY PURPOSES, IS DETERMINED TO HAVE A NUCLEAR DETERRENT AS SOPHISTICATED AS ANY OTHER NATION, AND WILL
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THEREFORE CONTINUE TESTING. HE ADDED THAT THIS WOULD

BE FOR YEARS NOT FOR MONTHS. GUIRINGAUD NOTED THAT THIS NEED NOT PREVENT A BILATERAL US-USSR AGREEMENT, WHICH WOULD BE WELCOME. FRENCH POLICY ON TESTING WOULD NEVER BE CHANGED, HE EMPHASIZED, SINCE IT WAS FUNDAMENTAL AND ESTABLISHED BY DE GAULLE. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT THE BRITISH HAD INDICATED POSSIBLE UK PARTICIPATION IN A BAN. GUIRINGAUD ASKED THAT THIS MATTER BE DISCUSSED FURTHER IN THE HIGH-LEVEL EXPERTS MEETING WHICH HE HAD REQUESTED AND THE SECRETARY HAD AGREED TO. HE ADDED THAT THE FRENCH HAD LOST SEVERAL YEARS THROUGH HAVING TO CHANGE THEIR TESTING SITE SOME YEARS AGO.

5. MISSILE TEST NOTIFICATION: THE SECRETARY STATED THAT AT MOSCOW WE HAD RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF NOTIFICATION OF MISSILE TESTS AS A CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURE. HE REPORTED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF WORKING GROUPS ALSO ON CHEMICAL WEAPONS AND ON RADIOLOGICAL WEAPONS. GELB SPOKE TO THE LATTER SUBJECT, NOTING THAT GROMYKO HAD RAISED THE ISSUE IN SPEAKING OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, BUT HAD NOT BEEN SPECIFIC. GELB SAID THAT RADIOLOGICAL WEAPONS DID NOT NOW EXIST AND WERE NOT ON THE DRAWING BOARDS, ADDING THAT IT MIGHT BE NECESSARY TO INVENT THEM IN ORDER TO BAN THEM. GUIRINGAUD SAID THAT AT THE UN, MALIK HAD ASKED TO ESTABLISH A FRANCO-RUSSIAN WORKING GROUP ON WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, BUT THAT HE OPPOSES SUCH GROUPS SINCE THE SOVIETS USE THEM TO ELICIT INFORMATION ON HIGH TECHNOLOGY AND NEVER GIVE ANY INFORMATION IN RETURN.

6. CIVIL DEFENSE MEASURES: THE SECRETARY REPORTED THAT A WORKING GROUP WAS TO BE ESTABLISHED ON CIVIL DEFENSE MEASURES, WHICH WE BELIEVE CAN BE DESTABILIZING. THE SOVIETS GRUDGINGLY AGREED TO ESTABLISHING THE GROUP. HE NOTED THAT OUR PHOTO STUDIES INDICATE THE SOVIET PROGRAM WAS MORE LIMITED IN SCOPE THAN SOME JOURNALISTS
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HAVE ASSERTED AND SEEMS TO BE GEARED TO SAVING THE LEADERSHIP AND THE CADRES RATHER THAN TO THE MASS OF THE POPULATION. GUIRINGAUD SARDONICALLY NOTED HOW DEMOCRATIC THE RUSSIANS ARE.

7. ANTI-SATELLITE WEAPONS: THE SECRETARY REPORTED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A WORKING GROUP ON BANNING ANTI-SATELLITE WEAPONS, ADDING THAT WEAPONS THAT COULD ELIMINATE EITHER SIDE'S MONITORING CAPABILITY ARE UNDESIRABLE.

8. INDIAN OCEAN DMZ: THE SECRETARY SAID THAT AT MOSCOW WE HAD EXPLORED SOVIET IDEAS ON DEMILITARIZING THE

INDIAN OCEAN, A SUBJECT WHICH THEY HAVE PREVIOUSLY
RAISED. HE COMMENTED THAT THE SOVIET IDEA OF DEMILITAR-
IZATION IS TO REMOVE OUR BASE AT DIEGO GARCIA AND TO
DENY THAT BERBERA IS THEIR BASE. WE HAD OFFERED TO GIVE
THEM EVIDENCE TO THE CONTRARY. THEY HAD HAD NO ANSWERS
TO OUR QUERIES HOW THEY WOULD DEFINE THE OCEAN OR TO
OUR INQUIRY ABOUT SHIP DAYS. A WORKING GROUP WAS AGREED
ON. THE SECRETARY ACKNOWLEDGED FRENCH SPECIAL INTEREST
TOGETHER WITH THAT OF AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND IN THE

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INDIAN OCEAN AREA.

IN THE CONTINUATION OF THE BREAKFAST MEETING LATER
IN THE MORNING (WITH ADDITIONAL PARTICIPANTS) THE
FOREIGN MINISTER RETURNED TO THIS SUBJECT. HE STATED
THAT FRANCE'S INTEREST IN THE INDIAN OCEAN IS BECAUSE OF
FRENCH TERRITORIES THERE, REUNION, MAYOTTE AND ALSO
DJIBOUTI. FRANCE USES THAT ROUTE FOR ACCESS TO THE
PACIFIC AND OTHER FRENCH TERRITORIES AND WOULD BE
CONCERNED, HE SAID, AT ANY TALKS WITH THE SOVIETS THAT
LED TO AGREEMENT ON THE SOVIET CLASSIC UN PROPOSAL FOR
A ZONE OF PEACE, WHICH WOULD KEEP OUT THE NAVIES OF THE
MAJOR POWERS. FRENCH PRESENCE HAS NEVER BEEN AS LARGE,
HE SAID, AS THE ONE THE US PLANS TO BASE ON DIEGO GARCIA,
BUT FRANCE INSISTS ON FREE NAVAL MOVEMENT FOR ALL TYPES
OF VESSELS. HE EXPRESSED FEAR THAT US GOOD INTENTIONS
IN ACCEPTING THE SOVIET PROPOSAL COULD LEAD TO THE DIS-
MANTLING OF DIEGO GARCIA, WHICH HE TERMED
SHEER FOLLY, SINCE THE SOVIETS WOULD CHEAT ON ANY AGREE-

MENT AND KEEP BERBERA. GUIRINGAUD ASKED THE SECRETARY TO KEEP THE GOF INFORMED ON TALKS WITH THE RUSSIANS SO THAT FRENCH VIEWS COULD BE MADE KNOWN.

THE SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT WE DID NOT DISCUSS A ZONE OF PEACE WITH THE SOVIETS. WE DO NOT RPT NOT CONFIDENTIAL

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LIKE THIS CONCEPT, HE SAID, SINCE IT WOULD INTERFERE WITH THE RIGHT OF PASSAGE. HE SAID THAT WE HAD SPOKEN TO THEM ONLY OF BASES, AND ADDED THAT THE SOVIETS HAD ALSO ENDORSED THE RIGHT OF FREE PASSAGE AND HAD EXPRESSED NO PROBLEM OVER SHIP DAYS.

THE SECRETARY SAID THAT PRESIDENT CARTER BELIEVES THAT WE HAVE ALLOWED THE SOVIETS TO STEAL A PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGE, AND THAT WE WISH TO CALL THEIR BLUFF. SO FAR, HE COMMENTED, THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN SO FUZZY THAT HE HAS REAL DOUBTS WHETHER THEY ARE SERIOUS. THE SECRETARY UNDERTOOK TO KEEP FRANCE, AND OUR OTHER ALLIES, PARTICULARLY AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND, FULLY INFORMED.

9. CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS: THE SECRETARY DESCRIBED MOSCOW DISCUSSIONS OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFER CONTROLS. WE WERE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN APPLYING THEM TO THE MIDDLE EAST, BUT THE SOVIETS HAD REPLIED THAT THEY WOULD BE INTERESTED ONLY AFTER A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT IN THE AREA. THE SECRETARY SAID WE HAD PRESSED THEM FOR ARMS TRANSFER RESTRAINTS IN AFRICA AND HAD FOUND NO SOVIET GIVE. HE SAID THEY WOULD CLEARLY GO ON SUPPLYING SO-CALLED MOVEMENTS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION. THE SECRETARY ADDED THAT HE HAD WARNED THE SOVIETS THAT THIS POLICY WILL EFFECT OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. HE EXPRESSED THE BELIEF IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO CONTINUE PRESSING THEM.

10. BERLIN: THE SECRETARY REPORTED THAT BOTH SIDES IN MOSCOW HAD STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF STRICT ADHERENCE TO THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT. WE HAD PROTESTED THE DECEMBER ACTIONS OF THE GDR AND THEY HAD RAISED WEST BERLIN.

11. BELGRADE CONFERENCE: THE SECRETARY SAID THE SOVIETS HAD URGED THE IMPORTANCE OF AVOIDING A CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFRONTATIONAL ATMOSPHERE AT BELGRADE AND HAD CALLED FOR TAKING UP NEW SUBJECTS THERE. WE HAD RESPONDED INSISTING THAT A REVIEW OF THE PROGRESS OF IMPLEMENTING THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT WAS NECESSARY.

12. CYPRUS: THE SECRETARY REPORTED THAT WE HAD REVIEWED WITH THE SOVIETS THE STATE OF AFFAIRS AND HAD URGED THEM TO ALLOW THE CURRENT TALKS UNDER THE EGIS OF THE SYG TO PROCEED WITHOUT INTERFERENCE. THEY HAD SEEMED INCLINED TO ACCEPT THIS POSITION, WHICH THE SECRETARY NOTED WAS A CHANGE FROM DOBRYNIN'S SUGGESTION FOUR WEEKS AGO THAT A GENERAL CYPRUS CONFERENCE BE CALLED. THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID THAT THIS WAS AN OLD SOVIET IDEA DURING HIS UN DAYS BUT THAT IT HAD NOT BEEN HEARD OF LATELY.

13. AFRICA: THE SECRETARY REPORTED THAT HE HAD TALKED TO GROMYKO PRIVATELY ABOUT AFRICA. AT THIS POINT THE BREAKFAST MEETING ADJOURNED TO ALLOW THE SECRETARY AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER TO GO TO THE ELYSEE PALACE FOR THEIR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT GISCARD.

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